

Message Text

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SUBJECT: TENG'S "GENERAL PROGRAM" FOUL OR FAIR ?

SUMMARY: TWO FRONT PAGE ARTICLES IN PEOPLE'S DAILY FOR THE FIRST TIME FLESH OUT DETAILS OF A 25-YEAR "GENERAL PROGRAM", A BLUEPRINT WHICH TENG AND HIS FOLLOWERS WERE ALLEGEDLY GOING TO USE TO OVERTURN CHAIRMAN MAO'S LINE. HOWEVER, THE ARTICLES FAIL TO PUT ENOUGH DISTANCE BETWEEN TENG'S PROGRAM AND THAT OF THE 25-YEAR GUIDELINES PUT FORTH BY PREMIER CHOU-EN-LAI AT THE 4TH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS. THUS, THE ARTICLE MAY FUTHER SERVE TO FUEL DISCONTENT--WHICH HAS LED TO THE RECENT PEKING DISTURBANCES--AMONG THOSE WHO FEEL THAT CRITICISM CAMPAIGN ATTACKS TREAD TOO CLOSE TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE, BELOVED PREMIER. END SUMMARY.

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1. FRONT-PAGE ARTICLES IN THE APRIL 3 AND 5 PEOPLE'S DAILY DESCRIBE IN SOME DETAIL VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING'S ALLEGED PLAN TO TURN CHINA IRREVOCABLY ONTO THE CAPITALIST ROAD. ENTITLED " ON THE GENERAL PROGRAM FOR ALL WORK OF THE WHOLE

PARTY AND WHOLE COUNTRY". TENG'S PLAN IS DESCRIBED AS A 25-YEAR PROGRAM DISHED UP BY "THAT UNREPENTENT CAPITALIST RAODER" AND HIS FOLLOWERS WHICH BEGATES POLTICS AND ONE-SIDEDLY PUSHES PRODUCTION.

2. BOTH ARTICLES CLAIM ONLY TO BE RESPONDING TO VICIOUS SLANDERS PUT FORTH IN THE "GENERAL PROGRAM". FOR EXAMPLE, THE APRIL 5 ARTICLE BY CHENG YEUEH (REPRINTED FROM APRIL'S RED FLAG), B"GENERAL PROGRAM" FOR ASSERTING THAT THE SUC-CESSORS TO LIN PIAO ARE "ULTRA-LEFTIST" AND "ANTI-MARXIST CLASS ENEMIES." CHEN YUEH EXPLAINS THAT THE "GENERAL PROGRAMS" ATTACK IS REALLY AGAINST MAO'S FOLLOWERS WHO CALL FOR PRIMARY EMPHASIS ON CLASS STRUGGLE RATHER THAN PRODUCTION, (COMMENT: A STATEMENT ATTACKING ANYONE FOR LINKING LIN PIAO WITH THE "ULTRA-LEFT". TRENDS DANGEROUSLY CLOSE TO A CRITICISM OF CHOU EN-LAI. FOLLOWING LIN PIAO'S DOWNFALL, THE MEDIA THROUGH 1972 DID CALL LIN AN "ULTRA-LEFTIST", AND MANY BELIEVE CHOU WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS TAG. AT ANY RATE, TENG WAS BLAMELESS SINCE THE CHARGE OF ULTRA-LEFTISM WAS DROPPED BEFORE TENG'S APRIL 1973 REHABILITATION).

3. THE APRIL 3 ARTICLE, WRITTEN BY THE MASS CRITICISM GROUP OF PEKING AND TSINGHUA UNVERSITIES, RETURN TO THE VITRIOLIC AND INVECTIVE LEVEL OF THE CAMPAIGN'S FIRST ROUNDS IN FEBRUARY, IN ONE INSTANCE LINKING TENG AND HIS FOLLOWERS TO PREVIOUS MAO CRITICISM OF "CAPITALIST OVERLORDS AND THEIR RUNNING DOGS". THE ARTICLE, IN DEFENDING MAO'S BLESSING OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AS A GREAT MASS MOVEMENT, FLAUNTS THE IDEOLOGUES ULTIMATE WEAPON, UNLEASHING THE MASSES, BUT ONCE AGAIN FAILS TO CALL FOR MASS AGITATION. THE ARTICLE LEAVES LITTLE ROOM FOR TENG'S GETTING OFF LIGHTLY, MAKING IT VERY CLEAR THAT BY ATTEMPTING TO LAUNCH THE "GENERAL PROGRAM", TENG HAS "COMPLETELY TAKEN OVER THE MANTLE AND THE REVISIONIST LINE OF LIU SHAO-CHI AND LIN PIAO".

4. A SPECIFIC EXAMPLE OF THIS REVISIONISM, AS IT APPLIES TO FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY, ARE ACCUSATIONS THAT TENG WAS "WORKING FOR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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SHIPPING AND TOADYING THINGS FOREIGN". THE APRIL 3 ARTICLE ALSO STATES "HE HAS BROUGHT ABOUT VERY BAD RESULTS IN UNDERMINING OUR COUNTRY'S SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION." IF FOLLOWED TO CONCLUSION, THE ARTICLE WARNS, SUCH ECONOMIC POLICIES WOULD ONCE AGAIN TURN CHINA INTO A "COLONY OR A SEICOLONY". THIS IS AN AREA WHERE POLICY WAS ADVOCATED BY THE LATE CHOU BEFORE TENG WAS REHABILITATED, AND THUS TENG IS BEING CRITICIZED FOR SOMETHING WHICH HE CARRIED OUT AND PROBABLY SUPPORTED, BUT DID NOT ORIGINATE.

5. BOTH ARTICLES TRY TO SHOW THAT THE "GENERAL PROGRAM," AS ADVOCATED BY TENG "WILLFULLY ALTERS" THE SPIRIT AND PROGRAM SET

FORTH AT THE 4TH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (NPC). IN PARTICULAR, IT IS ARGUED THAT NPC MENTION OF THE "FOUR MODERNIZATIONS" AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, SCIENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY AND NATIONAL DEFENSE--WAS ONLY MEANT TO BE PART OF AN OVERALL PROGRAM, BUT THAT TENG'S "GENERAL PROGRAM" WAS A DISTORTION GIVING PRIORITY TO DEVELOPMENT OVER CLASS STRUGGLE. IN OUR OPINION, REFERENCE TO NPC POLICIES RATHER THAN MENTIONING THE ARCHITECT OF THE NPC, CHOU EN-LAI, DIRECTLY INDICATES AN INTENT AMONG CERTAIN LEADERSHIP ELEMENTS TO DOWNPLAY CHOU'S ROLE. THIS AND THE RELATIVELY INCONCLUSIVE AMOUNT OF SPACE DEVOTED TO DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN CHOU AND TENG'S PROGRAMS CANNOT HELP BUT ANTAGONIZE THOSE WHO FEEL THAT CURRENT ATTACKS ON TENG IMPUGN THE MEMORY OF THE PREMIER. VIOLENCE HAS ALREADY BROKEN OUT IN PEKING ONCE OVER THE FEELING OF THE MASSES FOR CHOU EN-LIA (PEKING 611) AND ARTICLES LIKE THOSE CAN ONLY EXACERBATE THOSE FEELINGS.

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